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V. I. LENIN'S CENTENARY

V. I. LENIN

LENINISM AND THE LIBERATION OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

HO CHI MINH

ON April 22, 1870, in old despotic Russia there was born the future leader and talented teacher of the toiling masses and oppressed peoples throughout the world — Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, capitalism reached its highest and ultimate development — imperialism — and ushered in the era of proletarian revolution. The man who skilfully continued Marx and Engels's great work in the new historical conditions was V.I. Lenin.

Struggling uncompromisingly with the reformists and all kinds of distortionists of Marxism, Lenin brought scientific socialism to a new stage. He enriched Marxism, the great ideological weapon of the proletariat, greatly contributed to the formulation of the theory of proletarian dictatorship, developed the Marxist principle on the worker-peasant alliance, the national and colonial question, proletarian internationalism, the building and strengthening of a new-type proletarian party which is the only organisation capable of leading the multiform struggle of the working class and enslaved peoples. Lenin has established a new theory of the socialist revolution, and demonstrated the possibilities of the triumph of socialism in a single country.

Lenin helped the working people who were suffering from imperialist oppression to realise in a more comprehensive manner the law of social development, the requirements and objective conditions of the political struggle in every stage of the proletarian revolution, and the whole liberation movement. He acquainted the oppressed masses with the intricate and complex developments of our times. He gave them the miraculous weapon to fight for

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LENIN AND VIET NAM

— An interview granted by President HO CHI MINH to a *L'Humanité* correspondent —

IN early July 1969 (two months before his passing away), President Ho Chi Minh received Charles Fourniau, correspondent of L'Humanité, central organ of the French Communist Party, and granted him an interview on Leninism and the Vietnamese revolution. We publish the English version of this interview which has appeared in French in the 1970 Almanach of L'Humanité.

QUESTION: *Most respected Comrade President, how did you come to know Lenin's thought?*

ANSWER: You know that I came to Europe even before World War One. I was in Paris for many years, rubbing along on petty jobs, as an assistant photographer then a painter of "Chinese antiquities," false of course. Our country was then under the yoke of French colonialism, terribly exploited and terribly miserable. I know very little of political problems, but I wanted the liberation of my homeland and the liberation of the "colonial peoples." So I began to write and distribute leaflets denouncing the crimes committed by the French colonialists. I did not yet know what a party or a trade union was and still less what distinguished socialism from communism. But the "ladies and gentlemen," — that was how I first called my comrades of the Socialist Party—showed sympathy with me. Thus I joined the Socialist Party. Of the October Revolution and Lenin I had only scanty knowledge. I by instinct sympathized with the Russian revolution and with its leader, but I had read nothing yet about Lenin. So I found myself quite puzzled amidst the heated discussions in the period 1919-1920 within the Socialist Party. Was I to remain in the Second International or join the Third International? Some even proposed to create a two-and-half International. More specially as in all this I found little solidarity with the colonial peoples. Well, that was precisely what interested me in the first place, and also what helped me to strike the right path. When I put the question "Which body clearly affirms its solidarity with the peoples oppressed by colonialism?" the answer was "It is the Third International." Then a comrade gave me for reading Lenin's "Thesis on the Colonial and National Questions" which had just been published by *L'Humanité*. It was difficult to understand because I came up against a terminology of which I knew little. But I read and read the text over again, and little by little I grasped its meaning. What an emotion, what an enthusiasm, what lucidity and what an assurance it imparted to me! I was moved to tears. All alone in my room, I proclaimed aloud as if I were standing before a large crowd: "Dear martyred fellow-countrymen, this is what we need, this is the path to our liberation." Ever since, my choice was made: I was for the Third International, and I had total confidence in Lenin.

QUESTION: *Thus, it was out of confidence in Lenin and prompted by your struggle for the liberation of the peoples oppressed by colonialism that you participated in*

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Survey of U.S. Neo-Colonialism:

II — Economic Profile

(*Continued*)

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In US exports to the Third World, Latin America takes pride of place, closely followed by Asia and far behind by Africa (1).

In the US imports from the Third World, Latin America also tops the list followed far behind by Asia, then by Africa. On the whole, the US exports to the countries of the Third World more than it imports from them. The trade deficit of the Third World on its exchanges with the US amounted up to 1,931.7 million dollars in 1968 (against 813 million in 1960). It is to be noted that if it were not for oil from Venezuela and the Middle-East, this deficit would still be more considerable.

A survey of the goods exchanged between the US and the Third World will show that, roughly speaking, US sales consist essentially of manufactured goods and subsidiarily of surplus agricultural products, and those of the Third World essentially of raw materials and subsidiarily of agricultural products.

There is no denying the fact that US outlets in the Third World as well as elsewhere are of paramount importance for US manufacturing industries.

On the contrary, US dependence on raw materials imported essentially from the Third World is belittled or denied by some.

The fact is that the rush for raw materials has taken new proportions after World War II. Prospective exhaustion of US sub-soil resources frightened Truman into appointing an *ad hoc* commission for this problem. The body's report (2) summed up the situation as follows: in 1950, the US consumed 10 per cent of raw materials more than it could produce; in 1975, taking consideration of a consumption increase, the production of raw materials will be about 20 per cent below US industrial needs. However, this already impressive prevision seems to be surpassed by reality: American experts foresaw for instance that from 1950 to 1975 US consumption in aluminum would increase tourfold, whereas a French expert said that "from 1950 to 1968, it was already tenfold and is on the upgrade" (3). As recognized by an American author, "the important thing is that we (US) are vitally dependent upon many areas of the world for a large number of essential imports. Numerous studies, ranging from the report of the Paley Commission in 1952 (see note (2)) to more current ones, indicate that **the US is becoming increasingly dependent on external sources for essential raw materials.**" (underlined by the Editor) (4).

A glance at the "Statistical Abstract of the United States" (1967) reveals that the US imports 34 per cent of its total needs of iron ores, 88 per cent of bauxite, 92 per cent of nickel, 99 per cent of manganese, 100 per cent of chromium, 25 per cent of tungsten, 21 per cent of copper, 44 per cent of zinc, 28 per cent of lead, 66 per cent of tin, 14 per cent of oil, 85 per cent of asbestos, 26 per cent of potash and 100 per cent of natural rubber.

Without these foreign supplies, American industry would go downhill. A French author wrote, "This dependence on the sources of raw materials which, most of the time, are located in the Third World is all the more striking since the US is the biggest consumer" (5). This writer added: "While the US knows how to dangle in front of the Third World the unsuspected and fascinating prospect opened up by synthetic products" it redoubles its efforts to **widen and strengthen its control** over the natural resources available in the world. Its overseas investment and economic aid policy shows the importance attached to this raw material strategy (underlined by the Editor).

Furthermore the US wants to pay prices lower than those of the world market while marking up its manufactured exports over. The most obvious victims of the non-equivalent exchange are chiefly the countries tied to the US "aid" chariot or placed under US economic dependence.

For instance the US monopolies pay for a ton of Venezuelan iron ore the price of a match box (6). In mid-June 1967 the ex-subsoil Minister Perez Alfonso declared that during the last nine years, the drop in the price of oil products had been causing to Venezuela a loss of 6.9 billion dollars.

With regard to Brazil, a Brazilian economist said she loses at least 700 million dollars a year as a result of non-equivalent exchange with the US as well as with other developed capitalist countries (7).

Owing to the systematic rise in the prices of exported raw materials accompanied by the decrease in those of imported manufactured goods, the Third World must export a bigger quantity of merchandise to pay for its imports. Carlos Llera, President of Colombia, said for instance that a jeep could be had in 1950 for the value of 17 bags of coffee while the same commodity was exchanged for 57 bags in 1967 (8). Even Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, admitted in October 1968 that "to import a tractor, it needed now to export twice as much flour or ore as some years ago."

On the whole, it is estimated that non-equivalent exchange with the Third World earns the US about 5 billion dollars (of which 2 billion from Latin American countries) (9).

We have seen how the US monopolies exploit the Third World with export of private capital which brings about a dead loss of foreign exchange. Added to this is also a substantial loss resulting from non-equivalent exchange. The export of private capital and non-equivalent exchange are two plundering methods "remarkably" combined by the US in order to rob a considerable part of the national income of the Third World countries.

4 – INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

BESIDES these three great levers US neo-colonialism resorts more and more to multi-lateral "aid" by means of such organs as the World Bank and its branches (International Development Association and International Financial Corporation), the International Monetary Fund and some U.N. specialized organs, on the one hand, and the regional "aid" by the Inter-American Bank of Development, Asian Bank of Development, African Bank of Development etc., on the other. Through such agencies, the US thinks its diktat would be less conspicuous the more so because after having tasted the bitter fruits of "aid," the developing countries "do not want to depend too much on US (bilateral—*Ed.*) "aid", as R. Gardner, ex-Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, put it. An American specialist admitted for example that it is usually much easier to bring about changes in domestic policies of recipient countries in Latin America through the mediation of an international agency such as the International Bank or the Monetary Fund than through bilateral stabilization agreements (10).

For lack of space, we briefly recall here the role of the World Bank or International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD).

The IBRD, headed by McNamara, and one of its branches, the International Development Association, lent 788 million dollars to Asian countries and the Middle-East, 472 million to Latin America and 345 million to Africa, in the fiscal year 1968-1969. A comparison between the total loan classified per area for the fiscal year 1968-1969 and the average of five previous years shows that the loans granted to Africa surpassed by 116 per cent the average of the years from 1964 to 1968; those to Asia and the Middle-East by 62 per cent; those to Latin America by 52 per cent (11). With its tremendous natural resources, the African continent occupies a special place in IBRD plans, chiefly since the moment its people have held aloft the banner of national liberation. In co-ordination with OECD and EEC, IBRD tries by hook or by crook to bring the national liberation movement in Africa under its sway and to influence its development. Significantly enough, the countries which have a pro-US political leaning receive substantial loans. The "stabilization of the political regime" and implementation of an economic policy consistent with the "private enterprise principle" provides conditions for receiving loans.

Before granting a loan, IBRD makes in general a thorough inquiry of the economic situation of the applicant country. It sends a commission not only to investigate the purpose of the loan, but also to indulge in economic espionage.

In the fiscal year 1968-1969, the overwhelming majority of loans and credits granted by IBRD and the International Development Association was earmarked for expanding the economic infrastructure (transport, electric power, tele-communications, water supply and other public services; nearly one billion dollars) and social welfare (education: 81.8 million dollars). Agriculture and industry receive respectively 367.3 and 241 million dollars (not including loan granted to India for import of industrial equipment).

The terms of the granting of loans are in general of a predatory character. One of them is, for instance, the purchase, under the chapter of loans, of merchandise in developed capitalist countries, first in the US. Taking advantage of that situation, the creditors arbitrarily raise their price, thus causing to debtor countries heavy drainage of foreign currencies.

In the last few years, IBRD has many a time raised its interest rates: 5.5 per cent before 1966 and 7 per cent since August 1968. This obliges the debtor countries to spend an ever greater part of their foreign currency reserves to pay off interests.

IBRD, besides, interferes in the internal affairs of its members. Since Peru nationalized the property of the (US) International Petroleum Company in August 1969, for instance, it has been no longer listed as a country receiving IBRD loans in 1969.

The task of IBRD is also to stimulate private investments in the countries of the Third World: it only grants loans in case where the applicant countries cannot receive them in the same conditions from private financial establishment. The International Financial Corporation, which is one of its branches, is only interested in giving financial "aid" to private enterprises in countries of the Third World. On the whole, IBRD leaves no stone unturned to guide nascent countries onto the road of capitalist development.

HENRY LUCE has described Uncle Sam as a good Samaritan who is more pleased to give than receive. However it is clear from what has been said above that it is the other way round.

In fact US neo-colonialism is pleased not to receive but to **loot the Third World.** We must point out that this is not whim or machiavellianism, but because it is a vital need, for various reasons mentioned above. Domination and exploitation of the Third World is for it a matter of essence and necessity.

The economic development of the Third World is "blocked" by US neo-colonialist exploitation and it can be "unblocked" only by putting an end to that exploitation. The peoples of the Third World have no other alternative than to work for this end. And there is every reason to believe that like the former European colonialism US neo-colonialism is digging its own grave.

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(1) *Asia: Middle-East and Far-East, except Japan. Africa: except the South African Republic.*

(2) *See* Resources for Freedom, 5 *vols, Washington, June* 1952.

(3) *See article by J. Chardonnet, in* Le Monde Diplomatique, *Paris, February* 1970, *p.*14.

(4) *See L.P. Black:* The Strategy of Foreign Aid, *Princeton, New Jersey,* 1968, *p.* 18.

(5) *See Cl. Julien*: L'empire américain, *published by Grasset, Paris* 1968, *pp.* 223 *and* 224.

(6) *See Guillermo G. Contreras:* Los grandes problemas de America Latina, *Mexico,* 1965, *p.*115.

(7) *See* Politica Internacional, *junio de* 1967, *p.* 37.

(8) *See Cl. Julien*: L'empire américain, *cited above, p.* 250.

(9) *See note* (6), *ibid.*

(10) *E.S. Mason:* Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy, *New York,* 1964, *pp.* 47 *and* 48.

(11) *For all figures regarding IBRD and its branches, see* Problèmes économiques, *Paris, No.* 1.136, 1969.

ACTIVITIES MARK LENIN'S CENTENARY

IN co-ordination with the General Information Department, the Viet Nam Revolutionary Museum has prepared an exhibition on Lenin's life and work. This exhibition also pictures the revolutionary activities of President Ho Chi Minh, the first communist who mastered and spread Marxism - Leninism in Viet Nam. It also shows how Marxism - Leninism has been creatively applied by the Viet Nam Workers' Party as leader of the Vietnamese revolution (1930-1970) and the attachment of the Vietnamese people and the Viet Nam Workers' Party to great Lenin.

THE Poster Section of the General Information Department has put up a display of posters on Lenin and the Viet Nam National Library an exhibition of books on Lenin.

SELECTED films eulogizing Lenin's work and the October Revolution have been screened in Hanoi. The lantern slide studio of the General Information Department has completed a set called *Lenin Will Live For Ever.*

A collection of 60 selected photos has been published for displays in provinces.

LECTURES on Lenin and on music works dedicated to Lenin have been held. The Philharmonic Association has produced choruses, concerts and Soviet musical compositions on Lenin. Theatres and art ensembles have given special performances on Lenin.

50,000 copies of a pamphlet on Lenin in strip form have just been issued by the *Pho Thong* Publishing House.

THE Publishing Department of the DRVN has sent to the USSR 432 books, 17 documents, newspapers, leaflets and 10 collections of photos covering a period of 50 years (1920-1970) dealing with Lenin's writings, documents concerning the October Revolution, those published by the VNWP, the political, literary and art works indicating the connection between Lenin and the October Revolution on the one hand and the Vietnamese Revolution on the other. These materials will be exhibited in the USSR.

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THE Haiphong port city branch of the Viet Nam — USSR Friendship. Association in co-ordination with other services has launched a propaganda drive among the local population on the occasion of Lenin's centenary. The program of activities includes talks, exhibitions of photos, books and newspapers. Its purpose is to better acquaint the local population with Lenin's life and work and the creative application by the Viet Nam Workers' Party of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Viet Nam.

The Cultural Service has promoted the perusal of books and newspapers on Lenin and organized a quiz on Lenin, the Viet Nam Workers' Party and President Ho Chi Minh. Thousands of people participated in the competition.

A "Soviet Film on Lenin" week will also be organized on this occasion.

In the past two months, the Viet Nam—USSR Friendship Association and other organizations in Haiphong have carried out a series of cultural and artistic activities, sport competitions as well as an emulation movement in industry and agriculture in honour of Lenin's centenary.

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THE Hanoi Engineering Plant built with Soviet assistance has launched an emulation drive to fulfil the monthly plan on April 22, birth anniversary of Lenin. Many of the articles turned out on this occasion will bear the inscription "Great Lenin's Centenary."

Various forms of activities such as film shows, photo exhibitions, concerts, sport games will be organized. Recently, the plant has sent a letter to the "Krasny Proletari," its sworn sister factory in Moscow and other Soviet friends, with warm congratulations to the Soviet people and wishes for new splendid achievements on this great occasion.

In a Hanoi bookshop:
The first volumes of Lenin's Collected Works *in Vietnamese*

To mark V.I. Lenin's centenary, the young workers of the Hanoi Engineering Plant devote their spare time to make this lathe (T-630 model) bearing the name of the illustrious leader of the world communist movement

PUBLICATION OF LENIN'S WORKS IN VIET NAM

Before the Founding of the Party in 1930:

Marxist - Leninist ideas reached the intellectuals through political courses directed by Nguyen Ai Quoc (eventually President Ho Chi Minh) in Canton in 1925.

After 1930:

In colonialist prisons, Vietnamese translations of Lenin's works were *lithographed*, among them were:

— *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*

— *Two Tactics*

— *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder.*

After the August 1945 Revolution:

The *Su That* (Truth) Publishing House was founded in 1946, one of its main tasks was to publish classic works of Marxism-Leninism In 1946 it put out the translation of *Principles of Leninism* by Stalin.

During the First Resistance (against French colonialists) it published:

— in 1952, the Vietnamese translation of *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder* with a circulation of nearly 10,000 copies;

— in 1951, the translation of *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution;*

— and in 1952, that of *The State and Revolution* with a circulation running more than ten thousand copies.

In 1952, there appeared also *The Peasant Problem in the Colonial and Semi-Colonial Countries* and *The Leadership of the Proletariat with Regard to the Peasantry.*

After the Restoration of Peace in 1954:

Afforded more facilities, the *Su That* Publishing House published almost all the principal works of Lenin, some of which were reprinted several times. Thus *Karl Marx and Marxism* was published in 4 editions with a total of nearly 16,000 copies, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* in 3 editions (nearly 16,000 copies), *The State and Revolution* (more than 9,000 copies). The book *On Co-operation* was published 5 times (a total of 27,000 copies), Lenin's *Selected Works* was published twice (more than 13,000 copies), *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* was printed in nearly 10,000 copies in a single edition.

By 1960, Lenin's works published in Viet Nam has totalled 350,000 copies.

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LENIN'S PRINCIPAL THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD REVOLUTION

by **LE DUAN**

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party

(Excerpts from a speech delivered at an impressive meeting in Hanoi on April 22, 1960, in commemoration of Lenin's 90th birth anniversary)

1. Lenin's first important contribution is his theory on imperialism and proletarian revolution in the imperialistic era.

Lenin studied carefully and all-sidedly the characteristics and laws of imperialism, asserting that imperialism is "the highest stage of development of capitalism and at the same time its latest stage." In this stage, the contradictions of the capitalist society were aggravated to the highest degree. The outcome of this state of things is that the struggle of the working class and the toiling people in various imperialist countries as well as the liberation movement in various colonies and dependent countries rose more turbulently than ever before into a powerful revolutionary wave which shook imperialism to its foundations. On the other hand, the contradictions between the imperialists themselves were so exacerbated that an imperialistic war broke out, widening further other differences and driving imperialism into a serious general crisis. In these conditions Lenin held that "imperialism is moribund capitalism, the eve of proletarian revolution."

Basing himself on his findings of the characteristics and nature of imperialism, Lenin set forth a new theory on socialist revolution. Previously Marx and Engels had said that to be victorious, the proletarian revolution should break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries or at least in most of those countries and that if it broke out in one country only, it would be doomed to failure. Marx and Engels's conclusion was valid for the time when capitalism had not yet become imperialism, but now it did no longer hold good. Lenin showed that imperialism had become a world system, a force to oppress colonies and financially to enslave the whole world, of a handful of industrially developed countries at the expense of the majority of the peoples the world over. Today the contradictions and decline of imperialism are apparent not only in an individual country but throughout the world, therefore according to Lenin, "socialist revolution will be not only and chiefly a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in each country, but it will be also one waged by all colonies and countries oppressed by imperialism, and by all dependent countries against international imperialism." The conditions for the proletarian revolution to erupt in the imperialistic era are ripe throughout the world. Lenin discovered the law of uneven economic and political development of the imperialist countries. This is an absolute law, therefore the contradictions between the imperialist countries will never be composed, and their contention for one another's interests is becoming fiercer. The proletariat can take advantage of these clashes to defeat imperialism in one place or another. It is also due to the uneven economic and political development of imperialism that the conditions for revolution to win success in various imperialist countries are not the same.

Therefore proletarian revolution will not necessarily break out simultaneously in all advanced capitalist countries and where the proletariat accounts for the majority of the population, but it will do so in a place where the contradictions of imperialism are concentrated, at the weakest link in the imperialistic chain, it can erupt and succeed first in a particular country.

Lenin's new revolutionary theory has an immensely great significance. It has opened up a completely new vista to the proletariat and people of each country in the world who instead of passively waiting for world revolution to flare up, actively push up their initiative and create conditions for a direct attack on imperialism in their own country.

2. Another important contribution by Lenin was his theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat and on socialist construction.

Lenin pointed out that the victory of the proletarian revolution must necessarily lead to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the transition from capitalism to socialism. The dictatorship of the proletariat is not only necessary to break the resistance of the deposed exploiting class and the offensive of the imperialists from without, but is still more important to mobilize and organize the toiling masses to take part in economic construction and cultural development. It is the main tool in the hands of the proletariat and toiling people to transform the old society and build a new society.

Lenin emphasized that the dictatorship of the proletariat means the leadership of a class, of the proletariat over the State power in which not only one single class but the vast majority of people take part against the oppressing and exploiting minority. It is a particular form of class alliance between the proletariat and other strata of toiling people. The worker-peasant alliance is the basis, the most rigorous principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time the dictatorship of the proletariat is the highest and broadest democratic form in a class society, a democracy of the vast majority of the toiling people. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can the working class and the toiling people really take part in great numbers in the management of the State, and bring into full play their positive and creative spirit.

Lenin taught us that with the triumph of the proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, revolution has not come to an end but has only begun. We still have to assume a new heavy and much more complicate task which is to rebuild the whole of social life in line with completely new principles.

The period of transition from capitalism to socialism is a historical period in which takes place the bitter "which will win" confrontation between defeated capitalism which is not yet wiped out and newly-born socialism which is not yet consolidated. To come out victorious of this contest, in the political field, the leading role of the proletariat must be maintained through its party, and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the worker-peasant alliance, the solidarity between nationalities, and international solidarity must be strengthened. On the other hand, a new economy, a socialist economy, must be built on the foundation of a modern technique to serve as a material basis of the new society.

To fulfil this task, we must transform the capitalist ownership and the small producers' ownership into national and collective ownership, harmoniously and rhythmically develop national economy according to plans, build and transform the whole national economy on the basis of a new technique, unceasingly raise labour productivity, most satisfactorily meet the ever growing material and cultural needs of society.

To reach this goal in a country whose industry is undeveloped, and agriculture predominantly individual and backward, there is no other way than national industrialization whose key-work is priority development of heavy industry with engineering as the central task. Lenin pointed out, "The material basis of socialism can only be a large-scale mechanized industry which can transform agriculture as a whole."

Lenin also resolved a very difficult task of the proletarian revolution which is to gear the widely scattered private economy of small producers (peasants and handicraftsmen) to socialism, thereby eradicating the ultimate cause which gives birth to capitalism. We cannot deprive the peasants of their means of production as we do the capitalists. Lenin said that such a measure would be a crime, an idiocy likely to bring socialist revolution and socialist construction to failure. Only with a close alliance with the peasants can socialism carry the day. But meanwhile, we must find the most edequate method, take into due account the characteristics of their private ownership, integrate individual and collective interests and those of the State, find a method most acceptable to the peasants. It is, according to Lenin, the co-operatives which include farming teams, consumers' co-operatives, credit co-operatives, producers' co-operatives and collective farms. Lenin laid particular emphasis on voluntariness, strictly forbade the use of authoritative direction and compulsion with regard to the peasants; on the contrary we must persistently persuade and educate them, wait until they become awake to, and make them realize, the advantages of collective work so that they voluntarily and consciously joined in co-operativization.

Lenin also pointed out that the taking of the peasants to co-operativization is but the first step in the socialist transformation of agriculture. Another indispensable step is to change a backward agriculture into an agriculture of large-scale production on the basis of mechanization and electrification. Only in this way can socalism stand firmly on two feet: modern industry and modern agriculture.

Along with socialist industrialization and transformation of agriculture, Lenin also advocated cultural revolution. Socialist revolution being the work of the broad masses, we must unceasingly increase their consciousness, resolutely combat old ideas and habits if we want to bring into full play their revolutionary zeal and creativeness. On the other hand, in socialist construction, it is not sufficient to rely on revolutionary enthusiasm, but scientific and technical knowledge is also necessary, therefore we must raise the cultural, scientific and technical level of the people, create an army of intellectuals of the working class. This is part and parcel of socialist revolution.

3. The successes of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and of socialist construction would not have been possible if it were not for the leadership of a new-type revolutionary party. Therefore, one of Lenin's very important contributions is his flawless **theory on the founding of a new-type working class party.**

In the imperialistic era when the task of direct revolutionary confrontation had been laid down, Lenin pointed out as an essential task, the establishment of a new-type political party. Such a party is the vanguard, the organized army, the highest organizational embodiment of the proletariat. The Party must include the most progressive, most loyal, most ready to make sacrifices, and most conscious elements of the working class and the toiling people. Right from the beginning when striving to set up the Party, Lenin laid

(Continued page 7)

To understand how Marxism-Leninism has been applied in Viet Nam, read :

THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION
FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS
ESSENTIAL TASKS
by
LE DUAN

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LENIN AND VIET NAM

(Continued from page 1)

the campaign in Paris for adherence to the Third International, campaign which was to lead to the founding of the French Communist Party at the Tours Congress. It will be half a century by December 1970.

ANSWER: Yes, from the day those theses of Lenin were definitively clear to me, I no longer contented myself with passively attending Party meetings. I flung mysel into the battle, discussing with fervour, attacking with vigour the adversaries of Lenin and of the Third International; and all that in French, of course, which was an additiona difficulty for me. But, as I have often said, I was then greatly assisted by comrades Marcel Cachin, Vaillant Couturier and Monmousseau. I did not content myself with arguing among my group, but I went to other groups of the Party to put this question: "If you do not condemn colonialism, if you do not unite with the colonial peoples, then what kind of revolution do you want?"

At the Tours Congress I took the floor to raise the problem of struggling against French colonialism while denouncing the atrocities it perpetrated in Indochina. A socialist deputy interrupted me and said that he had already spoken in "favour of the indigenous," but I said: "Silence!" and continued to call for assistance to the Vietnamese people and to the colonial peoples as a whole. And, naturally I voted with the partisans of the Third International, with the majority who were to constitute the French Communist Party.

QUESTION: *How to figure out what Lenin represented to the young revolutionary that you were and to the peoples oppressed by colonialism?*

ANSWER: True, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America did not know exactly who Lenin was, not even where Russia was. Ignorance was one of the principal pillars of colonialization. Nevertheless, from mouth to ear, in Africa as well as in Asia and Latin America, people said that somewhere in the world, a people had overthrown their exploiters and managed themselves their own affairs, without bosses and governors-general. They said that such a thing had taken place in Russia and that at the head of those courageous people was the most courageous of all, Lenin.

Thus, people learnt that Lenin had not only liberated his people but also wanted to liberate the other peoples; that he worked for the emancipation of the Yellow, Black and White alike, and that he had a program of action to this effect. In fact, little by little news filtered about the Communist International which fought for all the exploited without exception, and people learnt that Lenin was at the head of the International.

Is it therefore any wonder that the masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, that all these oppressed peoples were full of sympathy with, and confidence in, Lenin? In the eyes of the Eastern peoples, Lenin appeared not only as a leader and a chief, but also a teacher who exerted a magnetic influence; his contempt of luxury, his love of labour, the purity of his private life, his simplicity, his moral grandeur won our hearts to him, irresistibly. Our veneration for him was near filial piety, one of the fundamental virtues of our nation. For us who were ill-treated and humiliated, Lenin was the personification of universal fraternity. To understand this, you must see the students of the Eastern Peoples University at the news of Lenin's death. These chaps who represented the revolutionary elite of Asia and Africa, burst into tears, because their love for Lenin was soul-felt.

QUESTION: *At what time did you leave France and how did you live in Lenin's land?*

ANSWER: It was in the second half of 1923 that I left France for Russia. I had long wanted to go to the country of the Revolution, but that was not simple. Travelling by sea was not safe, as shown by the death of Lefebvre and his companions. I has therefore to travel by land. I contacted some railway workers to arrange a clandestine trip. They did not conceal to me that it was no easy job but at last they assured me that they would take me safely to Berlin where they would see to it that I be entrusted to other reliable comrades. In the end, however, all these preparations were not necessary because I was able to go with a cigar between my lips and in a first-class carriage, like a young bourgeois globe-trotter.

However, there was a difficulty to solve first as I was provided by the Minister of Colonies with two "guardian angels" who followed me like my shadow. To allay their vigilance, I led for a rather long time a perfectly regular life: the workshop in the morning, the National Library in the afternoon (a deputy had got me a card), and sometimes a meeting or the cinema in the evening. My shadowers' vigilance gradually wore out. Then, one evening, hands in pockets, I left my home and entered a movie house from where I got out almost immediately and hastened to the North station where a comrade was waiting for me with my suitcase, a very light one, and I took the train for Berlin. Despite the assistance of the French Communist Party, I was not very rich on my departure, but I was millionaire in Berlin; inflation was at its peak and in buying a newspaper, I noticed that it was not large enough to hold all the banknotes I had to pay for it. The German comrades took me to a harbour where I boarded a Soviet ship. I arrived in Saint-Petersburg — it was not called Leningrad yet — without any paper or acquaintance, and I had to stay in this city for some time before the Soviet comrades were convinced that I was an authentic revolutionary: vigilance was absolutely necessary.

It was winter when I arrived in Moscow. It was already very cold. I lived in a hotel, not far from the Kremlin, where lived quite many other foreign comrades. I got in touch with some comrades from the Philippines, and other colonial countries, and Italy, etc. One day in January 1924, as usual we were having our lunch at the restaurant on the first floor of the hotel when we were told that Lenin had just died. Nobody wanted to believe it, but turning back, we saw that the flag of the Moscow Soviet was at half mast. We were all struck with boundless grief; the lunch was left unfinished since none of us felt hungry any more: Lenin was dead. So, I could no longer meet Lenin alive and it is still a great regret of my life. When I arrived in Russia, he had been already very ill and under treatment in Gorky; no one was permitted to visit him. By way of compensation, I knew Kroupskaya, a woman of extraordinary kindness and simplicity, and Lenin's companion. Furthermore, I then lived in Russia, in the atmosphere of Lenin: I worked in the Komintern and studied at the Lenin University.

QUESTION: *How then to evoke what Lenin and Leninism were for you?*

ANSWER: You probably know this legend in our country, the legend of "The Book of the Sages." When one faces a difficulty, one would open the book and find the solution. Leninism, that is something like this miraculous "Book of the Sages." It was first out of patriotism that I had confidence in Lenin. Then, step by step, I came to the conclusion that only socialism and communism can liberate the oppressed nations and the working class the world over from slavery.

And Lenin had concretely charted the way for us: At the Congress of the Communists of the East, he declared: The task facing you has never confronted the communists the world over. By basing yourselves on the general theory and practice of communism, you must, by adapting yourselves to the specific conditions that do not exist in the European countries, learn to apply this theory and practice to these conditions in which it is the peasants that form the fundamental masses and in which it is necessary to determine the necessity to struggle, not against capitalism, but against the feudal vestiges.

In fact, revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries is first and foremost a revolution of the peasantry.

It is inseparable from the anti-feudal revolution. The alliance of the great peasant masses with the working class is the fundamental basis on which a broad and firm national front can be formed. Thus, land reform is a fundamental task of the national democratic revolution. But our experience has shown that to lead the democratic revolution to victory and to open successive stages for the development of a national democratic State, the working class and its Party must lead the revolution. The revolution for the liberation of the oppressed peoples and the revolution of the proletariat of the countries of the oppressors must support each other. As Lenin has foreseen, now the time has come when these peoples, with their heads erect, enter the international arena. For their part, the Vietnamese people are advancing to socialism under the glorious banner of Marxism-Leninism.

SAMDECH NORODOM SIHANOUK SENDS SECOND MESSAGE TO KHMER PEOPLE

SAMDECH Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, sent on April 4 a second message to his fellow-countrymen.

After expressing grief at learning the news of "the most despicable and savage murder committed openly and in broad daylight by the infantrymen and armoured cars of Lon Nol, a murder of more than 300 of my fellow Khmers," the message said:

"In the past and at present, I have always formulated my domestic and foreign policies entirely in the short-, middle- and long-term interests of the Khmer nation and country.

"But as a person who bears the name of Norodom and has never tarnished it, I must from now on wage a struggle until honour and justice are restored to me.

"I must above all fight to help the Khmer people and our country recover their dignity, which is being trampled on by the reactionary valets of the US imperialists.

"As a Khmer, I have the duty to make all sacrifices, including that of my life should circumstances require, so that this clique of reactionaries, lackeys of the US imperialists and Western monopoly capitalists, will be crushed in the near future. These reactionaries are carrying out unbridled demagogic propaganda in an attempt to make people, our youth in particular, believe that they are new people, purer and more patriotic than anybody else, but actually they are arch criminals of corruption, usurpers of constitutional power, bloody oppressors of the people and destroyers of the country.

"My great mistake with regard to my nation lies in the fact that I granted such people so much honour and power and that I was unpardonably naive in having blind faith in them, which led me to believe, for example, that young progressive and socialist intellectuals betrayed the nation and damaged the interests of the people.

"Today, my progressive and socialist young fellow-countrymen, whether living abroad or in the 'jungle' of Cambodia, all have forgiven me for this blindness and erroneous judgement, because they are fully aware of the decisive role which the ultra-reactionary Lon Nol played in it.

"Therefore, my duty is to 'accompany' our people, youth and patriotic and progressive intellectuals on the 'journey' they are going to make, that is, in their struggle, in their resistance and in their armed revolution. The aim of this revolution is to ensure our nation, for the first time in our history, a new life based on full social justice and a genuine people's democracy which grants that all power will be exercised directly by the people or through the progressive youth and the working people on the basis of national independence and territorial integrity and under the protection of the national religion—Buddhism.

"I solemnly reaffirm that under such circumstances, I will not exercise any power, and that my fellow-countrymen should not assume my having 'nostalgia' for power. When a person has experienced so many humiliations, as is my case at present in the face of my detractors, he cannot have the least regret at losing state responsibilities.

"I desire no other privilege than being a fellow-traveller of our people in their historic crusade for liberating the nation from oppression by the fascist-reactionaries and their master, US imperialism."

The message continued:

"Besides, I want to speak particularly to my fellow Khmers in the army, the police, the provincial guard, the administration and the militia at present.

"They should take pains to reflect on the character of the mission entrusted them by the reactionaries, which is to oppress and kill people from whose ranks they themselves have sprung.

"They should also think of the very near future in which the reactionaries will utilize them as cannon-fodder in the service of the so-called 'free' world and in particular its leader — US imperialism and neo-colonialism."

The message stressed:

"The future of our Indochina and Asia will never be in the 'hands' of the Americans.

"Their future will inevitably belong to the peoples of Indochina.

"The future of Cambodia will be shaped by the Khmer people.

"And this very future will be stable and peaceful on the basis of independence, freedom and territorial integrity only when we Khmers are successful in safeguarding our friendship and solidarity with our neighbours, the People's Republic of China and socialist Viet Nam in particular, and making them durable."

The message went on:

"Do not believe that the reactionaries who now employ you will have a future. They do not have any future.

"But your own future will inevitably be 'in the hands' of the Khmer people and youth who are fighting imperialism and its lackeys, the reactionaries of Phnom Penh.

Victory will certainly belong to our people and youth because they are not and will never be alone. They have and will always have loyal allies: the fighting peoples of Asia, both in our vicinity and in distant areas.

"Therefore, you should show your loyalty to your people whom the reactionaries pay you to 'liquidate.'

"Remember the tragic end of the anti-popular and reactionary army of Chiang Kai-shek.

"Likewise, the Khmer reactionary army will inevitably be defeated and smashed by the people.

"So if you take pains to think it over a little longer, your conscience will eventually make you feel ashamed of your job which is to serve the cause of the enemies of your own people...

"You should make up your mind to go to the 'jungle' where you will establish ties of patriotic friendship and solidarity with our pioneering resistance fighters.

"When our people win complete victory over their domestic and foreign enemies, history will gratefully record your contribution to it.

"Long live Kampuchea!"

RALLY MARKS HUNGARIAN NATIONAL DAY

A commemorative rally was held in Hanoi on April 3 by the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Fatherland Front and the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries for the 25th National Day of the Hungarian People's Republic.

Addressing the meeting, Nguyen Van Tran, Secretary of the Viet Nam Workers' Party CC and Secretary of the Hanoi Party Committee, highlighted the great achievements of the Hungarian people during the past 25 years of socialist construction under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party, now the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

"They are," he stressed," a source of pride not only for the Hungarian people, but also for the peoples of the other socialist countries. They are a glory to the Hungarian people. They have brought to the fore the superiority of the socialist system, heightened the prestige and position of the Hungarian People's Republic in the international arena and actively contributed to the strengthening of the socialist camp and the safeguarding of peace in Europe and the rest of the world. A close comrade-in-arms of the brotherly Hungarian people, the Vietnamese people highly rejoice at their great successes and regard them as their own ones."

Nguyen Van Tran further declared: "We are glad to note that the relations of friendship and fraternal co-operation between the peoples of Viet Nam and Hungary have constantly consolidated and developed. In their socialist construction and fight against US aggression, the Vietnamese people have always received a strong support and wholehearted assistance from the Party, Government and fraternal people of Hungary."

New Concerted Actions by Lon Nol-Matak Clique and U.S. and Saigon Puppets

THE reactionary ruling circles in Svay Rieng province, agents of the Lon Nol — Sirik Matak clique, secretly met on March 28 last the puppet governor of Tay Ninh province (South Viet Nam) to discuss joint action against the Khmer people and the Vietnamese residents in Cambodia, *GPA* reported.

Since that interview, the US aggressors and their henchmen in South Viet Nam have frequently mounted air and artillery attacks against many frontier areas in Svay Rieng province. On March 31, over 10 air and artillery raids were carried out against Ta Mo area, destroying many houses and killing or wounding a number of Khmer civilians. On April 1 the US and Saigon puppets again struck at the said area on three occasions.

In co-ordination with the US aggressors and their henchmen in South Viet Nam, the reactionary rulers in Svay Rieng province on March 28 sent a company to the Ba Vet border area against the Cambodian supporters of Head of State Norodom Sihanouk. They brutally beat up 14 civilians and took away 11 others. Besides, they looted jewelry, textiles and other property of the local population.

The following day, US helicopters based in Tay Ninh province dropped supplies to the Cambodian reactionaries entrenched at Torapeng Pholong position (Kompong Cham province) on Highway 22 near the South Viet Nam — Cambodia frontier. On March 31 following several days of siege, this position was razed to the ground by the Khmer insurgents.

The *International Herald Tribune* revealed on March 30 that South Viet Nam puppet soldiers and armoured cars on March 28 penetrated Cambodian territory in Pak Nam and that "the operation was being conducted with the active co-operation of the Cambodian Army."

UPI reported that South Viet Nam puppet troops had used Cambodia's territory to attack Liberation forces in South Viet Nam. These actions were staged with the consent of Cambodian authorities. The same agency said that US commanders along Cambodian frontiers were authorized to co-ordinate their activities with the Cambodians. It also said that recent attacks against South Viet Nam Liberation forces were made after exchanges of views between South Viet Nam (puppet) and Cambodian officers with a view to co-ordinating their tactics.

In a news dispatch from the frontier post of Prey Vea, an *AP* correspondent disclosed that a secret meeting had been held between South Viet Nam (puppet) and Cambodian officers on Cambodia's territory. On March 28, South Viet Nam (puppet) and US officers met with the Cambodian commander of the post.

The *New York Times* on April 1 reported that the puppet regime in Saigon which benefited from non-disguised complicity of the US military command in South Viet Nam had been conducting military operations on Cambodian territory. It added that on March 27 three South Viet Nam (puppet) battalions penetrated into Cambodia. The next day, a column of South Viet Nam (puppet) infantry crossed the frontier. The operation ended only on the evening of March 29.

The paper wrote that several members of the South Viet Nam puppet command called for an increase of operations in Cambodia, which suggestion was supported by a number of US commanders.

62nd Plenary Session of Paris Conference on Viet Nam

(April 9, 1970)

"The Nixon Administration Has Deliberately Created New Viet Nams"

Says DRVN Negotiator

SPEAKING at the 62nd session of the Paris Conference, DRVN representative Nguyen Minh Vy said, "Far from keeping his promises to end the war in Viet Nam, Mr. Nixon has escalated the war in Laos, staged a coup d'état in Cambodia, and attempted to extend the war to the whole of Indochina. This is another proof showing that his acts are utterly at variance with his words."

The DRVN diplomat went on to say: "In the teeth of the Nixon administration's claim to the contrary, it has deliberately created other Viet Nams in Laos and Cambodia. As with one Viet Nam the US has obviously got bogged down neck-deep in the war, with a second and a third Viet Nam, it can but sink deeper into the quagmire and meet with bitter defeat."

Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy pointed out, "The path President Nixon is following is not only one of accumulating crimes against the Vietnamese people, but also one of continued disaster to the US and the American people. The only course of action consistent with the legitimate interests of the Vietnamese people and the genuine interests of the US is the one mapped out in the ten-point overall solution of the National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the RSVN."

"The US government must take it into serious consideration so that the Paris Conference in Viet Nam can be fruitful. If it fails to do so it must bear full responsibility for the prolongation and expansion of war and for the deadlock of the Paris Conference," Mr. Nguyen Minh Vy concluded.

LENIN'S...

(*Continued from page 4*)

emphasis on the necessity of further and unceasingly upgrading the qualifications of a communist party member. He upheld that to become such a member, a man must not only adhere to the programme and rules of the Party, but must also practically work in one of its grass-root organs and accept the control of the Party. What Lenin pointed out is at present an important prerequisite in the building of all communist parties throughout the world.

The Party outlined by Lenin is a monolithic bloc in ideology and action. Ideologically it must adhere to the Marxist-Leninist theory, regarding the revolutionary struggle for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat as its basic task, and must consider the achievement of socialism and communism as its ultimate goal. Ideological identity must be guaranteed by organizational unity. Sectarianism and peaceful co-existence with the opportunists are not tolerated in the party and must be done away with. The party must be organized strictly in line with the principle of democratic centralism and strict discipline, and fight against the empirical and paternalistic style of work. It must regard centralized leadership as the highest principle of leadership.

Such a party must keep in close touch with the masses, stick to them and be deeply aware of their aspirations and needs which it must fully reflect in its programme and slogans for action. It must not leave the masses far behind, or lag behind them, but has to enlighten them and lead them forward. It must know how to educate its members and the masses by the experience drawn from revolutionary practice, and therefore it must have a revolutionary attitude towards its own achievements and shortcomings and must be sincere in self-criticism and criticism. Lenin regarded the party's attitude towards its mistakes as an important criterion of its loyalty to the revolutionary cause and the masses.

PUBLICATION...

(*Continued from page 3*)

After 1960:

There appeared *On the Switch to Peaceful Construction and the Re-Establishment of the National Economy* (more than 15,000 copies in the first edition); *On the Transitional Period* (15,000 copies in two editions); *On Revolutionary Heroism* (5,500 copies in a single edition).

In 1967:

The 50th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution saw the publication of a series of Lenin's books including *On Imperialism*, *On the Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, *On the Building of the Party*, *On the Mass Viewpoint*, etc. (10,000 copies each).

At present:

The *Su That* Publishing House is publishing the Vietnamese translations of Lenin's *Collected Works*. Already more than 20 volumes have come off the press.

LENINISM AND THE LIBERATION OF OPPRESSED PEOPLES

(*Continued from page 1*)

their emancipation — the theory and tactics of Bolshevism.

The Russian Communist Party founded by Lenin set a bright example to the world's people. Under the clear-sighted leadership of great Lenin, the talented strategist and tactician, the Communist Party led the Russian proletariat to seize power and establish the first State of the working masses; the founding of this State ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. In the eye of the peoples loving peace and democracy, the Soviet Union is an unshakable bulwark of independence and freedom. After World War II, the mighty camp of peace, democracy and socialism headed by the Soviet Union took shape, in opposition to imperialism.

Lenin's popularity and doctrine are closely linked to all the successes of the camp of peace and democracy which stretches from the Elbe River to the Pacific Ocean, and from the Arctic pole to the Tropics. This is why all the oppressed and unfortunate people regard Lenin's banner which is now being held aloft by the communists of all countries, as a symbol of faith and a torchlight of hope.

The heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people to build communism is now encouraging all the peoples and showing them the way to attain a living worthy of man.

The consistent peace policy of the Soviet government, clearly embodied in the decree signed by Lenin and promulgated immediately after the triumph of the socialist revolution, is now stimulating the broad masses of people to struggle for the defence and strengthening of peace and against the warmongers headed by US imperialism.

The principles laid down by Lenin on the people's right to self-determination, peaceful co-existence, non-interference into the internal affairs of other countries — equality and relations beneficial to the parties concerned, principles which are the bases of the Soviet Union's foreign policy — are now showing the peoples of colonial and dependent countries the path of struggle for national reunification and independence.

FOR the Asian peoples as well as for the peoples throughout the world who are fighting for peace, independence, democracy and socialism, Leninism is like the sun which brings with it a cheerful life. Lenin always attached great importance to the movement for national liberation waged by the Asian peoples, and regarded it as part and parcel of the struggle put up by the toiling masses throughout the world against the imperialist oppressors. Lenin made it clear that the awakening of Asia and the first struggle waged by the advanced proletariat in Europe to seize power, marked a new era in world history, an era which began with the 20th century. In 1913, V.I. Lenin wrote: "The whole of Europe takes the leading place; the entire bourgeoisie in Europe is colluding with all the reactionary forces and medieval forces in China.

"But all young Asia, that is, hundreds of millions of toiling masses in Asia, has the proletariat of all civilized countries as a firm ally. No force in the world is able to check the victory of the proletariat in the liberation of the European and Asian peoples."

Today, in the midst of the 20th century only, the "Young Asia" referred to by Lenin, is precisely the People's Republic of China, the People's Republic of Mongolia, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. In other regions of Asia, similar young forces are rising to struggle for national liberation. These scientific previsions of the great revolutionary strategist have been substantiated so swiftly that the imperialist camp becomes anxious and fearful!

If, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist parties, the enslaved peoples of Asia have recorded practical successes, it is because they have followed Vladimir Ilyich's great teachings.

In his appeal to the revolutionaries in the East, Lenin wrote: "You have before you a task which was unknown to the communists in the world: relying on the theory and common practice of communism, and applying them to specific conditions which do not exist in Europe, you must know how to use them in the conditions in which the peasants are the basic masses and the task is not to struggle against capitalism, but against medieval vestiges."

This is an instruction most valuable for a country like ours in which 90 per cent of the population live on agriculture, and a great deal of the vestiges of rotten feudalism and mandarinate still exist...

LENIN bequeathed to us, as to all the communist and workers' parties, an invaluable treasure which was his ideology: organizational principles, theory and tactics of a revolutionary party. Leninism is a powerful ideological force which guides our Party and makes it possibly to become the highest organization of the toiling masses, and the embodiment of the intelligence, dignity and conscience of our people.

Under the banner of Leninism, the Viet Nam Workers' Party has won the confidence of our people and is considered as their vanguard party. Our Party has known how to make use of the potentialities and creative initiative of our people who never resigned themselves to the yoke of slavery and colonialism.

Lenin embodied the unity of mind within the Party, the solidarity of its ranks, the respect of revolutionary discipline, the unshakable faith in the great cause of communism and firm confidence in the final victory. All this is now an encouragement for the Viet Nam Workers Party which has daily and hourly applied the principle of criticism and self-criticism, and regarded it as the miraculous method to correct mistakes and shortcomings and to struggle against the manifestations of subjectivism and complacency. Our Party has no other interests than those of our people and our Fatherland; therefore, it attaches great importance to raising the level of its work. While doing its utmost to fulfil its tasks, our Party has constantly studied Leninism in order to raise its combativeness, political dynamism, the unity in organization and the ideological level of the Party members.

Our people and Party members were steeled in the flame of the long and hard struggle for national salvation and suffered untold hardship and suffering. Over eight years, our people and Party waged an heroic struggle which ended victoriously in favour of the Vietnamese people and in the re-establishment of peace in Indochina. The Geneva Agreements demonstrated that the struggle for national liberation waged by the Vietnamese people and the brother peoples of Laos and Cambodia and their lofty sacrifice and heroism have been internationally recognized. Our Party can be proud that during these years it was resolute and persevering and led the people to struggle with a great sacrificing spirit.

(Excerpts from an article appearing in **Pravda**, *April 18, 1955)*

TO THE READER

We are aware that there is much room for improvement in the wording of our paper. We apologize for this shortcoming and highly appreciate all your suggestions as they will help us to serve you more efficiently in future.

PLAF INITIATIVE MAINTAINED IN ALL STRATEGIC AREAS, WIDESPREAD ATTACKS MOUNTED

THE highlights of military situation in South Viet Nam in the past three months are:

ENEMY CONSTANTLY HARASSED AND BADLY MAULED RIGHT IN REAR BASES

—*PLAF's waves of attacks on hundreds of enemy bases*: from January 4 to 6 on hundreds of bases and positions, from February 2 to 4 on 115 and from March 31 to April 2 on 350 others.

—*Enemy strong positions erased or heavily damaged*: **Cam Zoi** (US marine base south of Da Nang) on Jan. 5; **Cam Ly** (near Da Lat) on Jan. 6; **Ba Xoai** (" Special Forces " camp, 180 km west-southwest of Saigon) on Jan. 13; **Li Hi** (base of two US battalions, south of Hue) on Feb. 11; **Hill 244** (100 km north of Saigon), where stationed elements of the " First Cav. " and the US 11th Armoured Regiment, on Feb. 26; the HQ's of military sub-sectors of **Vinh Thuan** and **Phuoc Long** in the Mekong Delta, respectively on Feb. 3 and Mar. 2, and that of **Chon Thanh**, 70 km north of Saigon, on Mar. 30.

—*Rear bases stormed*: In **Saigon** 180 Yankees, mostly officers, killed or wounded in the attacks on the **Rex Hotel** on Jan. 30 and the **Metropole Hotel** on Feb. 27, both in the 1st District; in **Da Lat**, a US garrison and a puppet police station assaulted on Feb. 10.

Logistic depots and airfields devastated: **Mieu Lo** logistic complex (in Qui Nhon area, over 400km northeast of Saigon) on Jan. 3; **Long Binh**, 20km northeast of Saigon, on Jan. 21, and **Kontum** on Jan. 31; the airfields of **Bien Hoa**, twice on Jan. 31 and Mar. 3, **Phuoc Vinh** (60km north-northeast of Saigon) on Jan. 25, and **Area**, near Pleiku, on Mar. 5.

ENEMY HEAVY REVERSES ON COMMUNICATION LINES

On roads: 61 military vehicles of the 11th Armoured Regiment wiped out at **Loc Ninh** cross-roads (118km north of Saigon) and 53 others near **Bu Nar** (100km north-northeast of Saigon) on Jan. 21; in three provinces **Tay Ninh**, **Binh Long** and **Phuoc Long**, more than 120 other vehicles (American for the most part) destroyed or damaged between Feb. 26 and Mar. 10; 28 vehicles including tankers on Jan. 5; two road convoys put out of action (27 vehicles) on Feb. 25; 26 vehicles, including 20 of the puppet troops, blasted out of commission on Mar. 15 on **Highway 19** linking Pleiku to the sea.

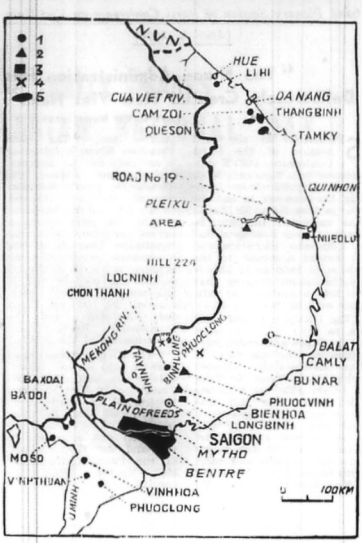
—*On waterways*: four US ships sunk in the **Cua Viet** River on Mar. 1, 3 and 7; 15 naval vessels set afire or sunk on a canal in the **Plain of Reeds** between Jan. 2 and 20; 50 combat launches on the **Dong Nai** River (northeast and southeast of Saigon) and the **Vam Co** River, the tributaries of the Mekong River and the canals in the Mekong Delta.

SWEEPS FOUGHT OFF WITH HEAVY ENEMY CASUALTIES

—*Mekong Delta*: The enemy did his best to " pacify " the country as a test on " Vietnamization. " In **My Tho** and **Ben Tre** provinces about one hundred kilometres south of Saigon, a puppet division and a marine brigade were operating together with " regional forces " and puppet "militia." In January 4,000 puppet troops were put out of action in Ben Tre province and 2 " regular " regiments badly mauled (1,000 casualties) in My Tho province.

Further south, the enemy was also clobbered: he took 810 casualties at **Ba Doi**, near the Cambodian border (end December 1969—beginning January 1970), and 700 marine casualties at **Vinh Hoa**, 200km southwest of Saigon (Jan. 22); in the **U Minh** jungle (Ca Mau peninsula), 1,000 men of two infantry divisions and a marine brigade were knocked out; twice at **Mo So** (230km west-southwest of Saigon), from Feb. 12 to 17, 300 enemy troops were killed and 23 armoured vehicles destroyed and from March 13 to 17, 1450 GIs and puppet soldiers were disabled, 26 armoured vehicles wrecked and 10 vessels burnt or sunk.

Other sectors: The GI toll was not lighter: 400 of them and South Korean troops wiped out at **Que Son - Thang Binh** (about 40km south of Da Nang) between Jan. 4 and 13; 600 in **Tam Ky** (60km southeast of Da Nang) between Jan. 6 and 13; and 200 near **Que Son** between Feb. 20 and 24 (in this operation 22 tanks and armoured cars were destroyed.)



1 — *Strongholds blotted out or heavily damaged.*
2 — *Airfields attacked.*
3 — *Logistic complexes set afire or damaged.*
4 — *Murderous guerilla ambushes.*
5 — *Scenes of sweeps fought off with serious adverse losses.*

33 ENEMY BASES AND POSITIONS NIGHTLY STORMED ON APRIL 7, 1970

ON the night of April 7, PLAF men hammered at 33 bases and positions including those at Kontum provincial capital, the puppet Rangers' barracks at Plei Can, south of Dak Sieng, the air bases at Da Nang, Phan Rang, etc., Western agencies reported.

Meanwhile, the PLAF were active in many other localities, chiefly against the units of US 25th Infantry Division, 17km southwest of Tay Ninh town, of US 199th Brigade, southeast of Bien Hoa town, of US 101st Airborne Division, 30km southwest of Hue city.

Against the Saigon Dictatorial Regime

SAIGON STUDENTS' STRIKE SPREADS

THE South Viet Nam students' strike which started on last March 23 is gaining momentum with every passing day. It was triggered by Thieu police's arbitrary arrest of forty Saigonese students among them Huynh Tan Mam, acting President of the General Association of Students. Owing to the Thieu clique's persistent crack-down on the protestors, all the universities and colleges in South Viet Nam decided to launch a sympathetic strike on April 1.

On April 2, Thieu resorted to a trick by setting free twelve students and postponing the trial of Huynh Tan Mam and his twenty-three comrades before the special court. An emergency meeting of the delegates of various faculties and colleges was held on the same day and decided to continue the strike.

The following day, a meeting of the Committee of Struggle and the Council of Students' Delegates came to the decision that the general strike would go on until the students' demands were met. The number of strikers reached 60,000 including the students of universities of Saigon, Can Tho (Mekong Delta), DaLat (High Plateaux) and Hue (northernmost part of South Viet Nam). Another meeting also resolved that on April 5 high schools and vocational secondary schools would join in the action should the Thieu junta persist in its police repression. A students' spokesman stated that 275 students would take part in the hunger-strike staged by scores of their mates since March 30. Some of them were ready for self-immolation while young girls were resolved to have their heads shaved in violent protest.

On next 5th, an emergency meeting of 500 delegates of students and pupils took place in Saigon while the strike of 60,000 South Viet Nam students was still on. Two students had their heads shaved and another sent to Thieu a protest letter written in his own blood. Doubling its number, the police cordoned off Thieu's residence and the puppet National Assembly building.

On April 7, the 16th day of the strike, the students' fighting spirit was still high. Thieu's police blocked up many streets with barbed-wire entanglements, which caused an *AFP* correspondent to write, " Saigon looks like a city under martial law. " and the Thieu-Ky-Khiem clique " has resorted to special police measures that had never been used since the time of Ngo Dinh Diem. " (*AFP*, April 7).